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# A KEY TO CULTURE

Introductory Reading for the Great Books Course

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#### PREFACE

The response that came from instructors and many of the students of the classes engaged in reading the Great Books has prompted me to elaborate the article on the subject which appeared in *The American Journal of Economics and Sociology*. Some thousands of preprints were circulated, and the editor was surprised at the interest it aroused. Leading educationists suggested that the work should be extended and that reasons should be given why the Great Books were recommended and also hints as to how the knowledge might be applied to modern conditions.

This booklet has no other purpose than to meet the wishes of those who suggested its amplification and that it should be published in this form. The footnotes are inserted mainly as a guide to the inexpensive editions of the works, and the list of books recommended at the end is compiled from my library. Most of these volumes have served me well over a period of more than fifty years.

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#### THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PLAN

When Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, Chancellor of the University of Chicago, announced his program of offering seventy-two books for adult reading classes, he cast a light which may penetrate the gloom that has fallen upon our system of education. In this broad program he hopes to reach 15.000,000 American men and women who are seeking knowledge of the best that has been said and thought in the world. A more laudable enterprise has not been launched for generations in this country. No one will deny the need for this cultural effort, nor will any sensible being underestimate the courage of Hutchins in making it. He realizes its difficulties and knows that his appeal is one all thinking people should consider seriously. He tells us: "The only hurdle you have to get over is that these books are hard. The program provides no short cut to culture."

He speaks from an experience with the courses that have been given under his direction at the

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university and also for adult classes which have been carried on in the city of Chicago for the past three years. In seventeen cities throughout the country the courses attracted 20,000 volunteer students.

When Sir John Lubbock, about fifty years ago, published his Hundred Books, he was no less surprised than the British public itself at the eager demand that was made for the volumes. At that time Great Britain had scarcely a full generation with common school instruction, and it was surprising, to say the least, that without preparation so many of the middle class read and studied his selection of works. However, in lecturing upon the Lubbock list to Working Men's Institutes, I found that the Bible and Shakespeare were fountains from which the students drew their inspiration to gather more knowledge.

Then afterwards Lord Acton drew up his famous list of essential works. But this was for scholars only, and I doubt whether its appeal went beyond the bounds of the small circles in the universities devoted to the most profound studies. Clement Shorter, in his book, *Immortal Memories*, gives us the Acton list as well as the Lubbock selection and appends one of his own, which is more to the taste of the serious amateur than the other two.

At no time did I attempt to draw up a list of Great Books, but I have sat in with groups of men and women who made a pastime of the business. The amusing part of it was to see how far they differed from one another in their selections, even in the domain of the classics. Andrew Lang once said that twenty editors of quarterlies and monthlies would draw up twenty different lists and perhaps they would not be in agreement upon forty per cent of the works chosen.

What interests me particularly in the present movement is the fact that Hutchins has not only made his own list but has inaugurated classes of men and women who are eager to read the volumes and discuss them at fortnightly sessions. This seems to me to be taking a great step forward.

It is my intention in this brief guide to recommend works that have served me well and may be of use to others.

Shortly after the classes began in Chicago, I was often asked the question, "How long does it take to read——?" Whenever this inquiry was put to me, I had the inclination to reply, "I do not think that you are a fit person to take the course." But I realized that this is the day when at the beginning of articles in some journals an announcement is made of the length of time it will take to read them. We are so busy nowadays that life goes forward with the regularity of a railway timetable. However, it is just as well to recognize that it seems to be

in cultural pursuits only that a strict timetable is called for.

The student of the Great Books can easily devote two hours a day three times a week to the volumes. I have known members of the groups follow this as a system and, after a week or so, they have had no difficulty in preparing themselves for the ensuing session. In this way they enjoy the discussion about the work. There is more time wasted in this day of laborsaving devices and what are called time schedules than in any other period. Some of the busiest men and women have started life with little or no advantages of education beyond those of the common school. But even in building up large financial and commercial concerns many of them have educated themselves and fitted themselves to hold very important positions in political, social, and cultural life. One of the best-known collectors of Chinese porcelain, who also founded one of the biggest businesses in the world, taught himself from an early age; and, yet, when he began to make his collection, he demanded from the experts works written by authorities which would give him the information about the pieces he purchased.

One more instance of this. A friend who, over a period of thirty years, gathered first and rare editions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, educated himself after he was sixteen years old, making a specialty of English literature. When he passed away, the sale of his library here attracted bibliophiles from many countries in Europe.

These men practiced the art of making time. Therefore, the question of how long it will take to study the Great Books should not be asked by one who has the inclination to improve his mind.

SUGGESTED "AIDS" TO THE HUTCHINS PROJECT

My experience in connection with this cultural movement has been a varied one. More than forty years ago I read the Lubbock selections, but probably a fourth of them I had studied previously. I still have several copies of the original set, and only recently was looking through my markings made many years ago in Cicero's Offices.<sup>2</sup>

I have watched closely the development of the Hutchins plan and I know a good many men and women who have attended his classes. Some of these people have often come to me about volumes they were reading and asked my advice as to how they should proceed. Recently I have been one of a group of men who meet to discuss world affairs, and several have urged me to tell the story of my library and how it came to be collected.

When I thought of Chancellor Hutchins' new project, I considered carefully what he said about the difficulty he knows it will encounter. He realizes that "these books are hard," and "the program provides no short cut to culture." With this I heartily agree. There is no short

cut to culture. There is, however, a way of making things easier for the student who does not possess the background the English masses had when Lubbock gave his Hundred Books to them. Unfortunately our system of education for at least a full generation has been more of a hindrance than a help to culture. Therefore, the approach to an understanding of what Hutchins' great plan really means to grown-up people must be made in such a way that they will know why they should devote themselves to the enterprise.

Perhaps I may be of some assistance in recommending a method of procedure that enabled many students during the middle part of the nineteenth century to get into intimate touch with the Greek and Latin classics. Works of scholars which are in the nature of introductions to the Great Books cannot be classified as short cuts, for the hurdle that Hutchins fears has been surmounted by accomplished men who have left the records of their achievement and how they were drawn to the classics and the masters of English literature. Surely it cannot be said that The Cambridge Medieval History is a short cut to culture, and yet that is indispensable for profound students of the period from Constantine to the Reformation. Neither can The Encyclopadia Britannica be ignored for it is a work which has led many a searcher for knowledge to study the volumes named in the bibliographies that are found after the biographies of famous thinkers.

Perhaps one's own experience is a fairly good guide, and I have no fault to find with my own humble way of collecting books and studying them. Let me, then, proceed with what I shall call "aids" to the Hutchins plan, cocktails to the great feast of the classics that he spreads before us. And maybe we shall find that a sharper edge will be put upon the appetite of those who will sit at his lavish board.

The books chosen for preparatory reading for these courses provide a selection from which the student may take one or two that will help him to a better understanding of the classic for the next session. The reason why I have named so many works is that some of them are out of print and may be obtained only at the public library, or perhaps found on the bookshelves of a secondhand dealer's shop. For example, as I have tried elsewhere to emphasize, a reading of the essays in The Legacy of Greece<sup>3</sup> will prepare the student for his studies of Homer and the Greek philosophers and dramatists. Other works upon the Greeks can be taken if the student has the desire to go further in these pursuits.

Likewise with the Bible. I mention several books that will impress him with the fact that the opinions of the Rationalists of the last century about its historical and literary value should not deter him, because the archaeologists themselves now accept the Bible as a great historical work. It is just as well for the members of the classes to understand at the outset that this is a special part of education—one that will fit them to understand the full worth of the great masterpieces of the past. The work is not merely a part of an ordinary school course of study to be taken for "credits" and afterwards forgotten. It has for its object a cultural purpose that may be pursued all through life.

#### Ш

#### THE BIBLE

I still believe the Bible is the first book to be read by the people of western civilization. Begin at the beginning—chapter one of Genesis—and go through to Malachi (in the Douay Bible the last book of the Old Testament is the Machabees), and then read the New Testament. This is absolutely essential if the literature of our era after Wyclif is to be clearly understood. Some of the best-known works in our tongue, from the time of Hooker to the present day, refer to the personages and events of Bible history.

In connection with the Bible, I would advise the student to possess himself of the very latest discoveries that have been presented by the archaeologists and the great biblical scholars. These are: T. H. Robinson's The Decline and Fall of the Hebrew Kingdoms, John Garstang's The Foundations of Bible History, Canon W. J. Phythian-Adams' The Call of Israel, and Sidney Smith's Isaiah Chapters XL-LV.

Another indispensable work for readers of the Old Testament is The Bible and Archaelogy, by Sir Frederic Kenyon, who was Director and

Principal Librarian of the British Museum. 8 In addition to reports on the latest archaeological discoveries, it contains chapters on papyri brought to light in recent years and information on other ancient manuscripts.

After the Bible, I would suggest that the student gather some information of the eastern religions and philosophics because I note so many new works which refer to them. For the Upanishads I would advise F. Max Müller's The Vedanta Philosophy. The Confucian Analects was included in Lubbock's list. Professor J. H. Breasted's work on Egypt, The Conquest of Civilization, should not be overlooked in this place, and Arthur Weigall's two volumes, A History of the Pharaohs, will also serve as a valuable introduction to the study of that period.

#### IV

#### Works on Ancient Greece

We come now to the Greeks, and for those who have not been fortunate enough to become acquainted with Homer, the philosophers, and the dramatists, I would advise the reading of The Legacy of Greece, 12 which is a most stimulating series of essays by the profound scholars of our time.

The first one by Gilbert Murray is called "The Value of Greece to the Future of the World." To many this will be a startling idea, but our author regards the Greeks as "our spiritual ancestors" and reminds the student that

... The things that we have called eternal, the things of the spirit and the imagination, always seem to lie more in a process than in a result, and can only be reached and enjoyed by somehow going through the process again. If the value of a particular walk lies in the scenery, you do not get that value by taking a short cut or using a fast motor-car. 14

Then there is Walter Pater's Plato and Platonism. 16 Two other works upon the Greeks which I consider essential are: Early Greek Philosophy, by John Burnet 16 and Early Greek Philosophy by Nietzsche. 17 I would add one more: The Birth of Tragedy, 18 also by Nietzsche.

There are several fine translations of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and I suppose that the student will choose that closest to hand. But for my taste the prose versions of the *Odyssey* by Samuel H. Butcher and Andrew Lang and the *Iliad* by Andrew Lang, Walter Leaf, and Ernest Myers<sup>19</sup> are the most satisfying. Some of our business men may be surprised to learn that Walter Leaf was a banker; so was Sir John Lubbock.

Socrates is at his best in the Republic, by Plato.<sup>20</sup> In this work, which is devoted to a search for justice, we find not only a clear definition of it but the procedures by which the State is formed.

For the dramatists it is important to read Gilbert Murray's masterful works. These will send the pupil posthaste to study the tragedies of Aeschylus<sup>21</sup> and Sophocles.<sup>22</sup> The satirical comedies of Aristophanes<sup>23</sup> may tempt him later on.

For those who have followed the vicissitudes of the world wars, there are two works that expose the failings of politicians in a searching light. These are: The History of the Peloponnesian War, by Thucydides<sup>21</sup> and The Histories of Polybius.<sup>25</sup> In these masterpieces we learn that men have been fighting the same old wars over and over again, century after century, and the politicians seldom glean any wisdom from

history. An excellent introduction to the conflicts waged by Athens against Sparta is Thucydides, by John H. Finley.<sup>26</sup>

The two works of Aristotle to be studied are The Nicomachean Ethics<sup>27</sup> and Politics.<sup>28</sup> These treatises have had perhaps as great an influence upon the thinkers of the Christian era as any but the Bible itself. Still, the student who has first studied his Plato, and particularly the Republic, will, when he has read the works of Aristotle that I recommend, find the fascinating exercise laid before him of deciding which of the two philosophers came the nearer to the fundamental of justice and the utility of establishing a State based upon the labor of "human tools." This problem has provided me with many hours of deep consideration during the past fifty years.

The casual reader may think this is a matter of little importance, but I can assure him that my career as a politician would have been bereft of some of the most entertaining hours I spent upon the platform if I had not been prepared to answer those barbed shafts thrown by informed working men on these very questions. Moreover, there is a still greater significance in modern controversy with regard to this problem. It lies at the basis of the struggle between Church and State. We may now be entering upon the final stage of that conflict and on the result of it may depend the whole matter of whether this civili-

zation as we have known it for the last five hundred years will survive.

In what I am now attempting to put before the reader I am fully conscious that my remarks are brief and the works suggested few; but these are aids and beginnings. I pretend to do no more than offer them as such. It would take a long volume to give adequately a survey of the works that I possess and have read and re-read. Over a period of half a century much of my time has been given to the classics, and still I want many more years to satisfy my hunger for them.

#### V

#### STUDIES ON ANCIENT ROME

THERE is so much to be done in a brief essay that I must hasten on to Rome. Here it is difficult to pick a short list of books to be studied. When one has read Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, 20 he is usually left with the feeling that he is not in possession of the whole story. To begin with the founding of the city, one may consult Livy. 30 Here the story is told of Aeneas and Antenor and how they escaped after the fall of Troy. The legend is well worth reading. But the Roman history that means so much to us is to be found in Caesar's The Gallic War and Other Commentaries. 31

Here again we come to that hurdle which can be easily taken if the reader understands what Caesar's invasion of Gaul meant to European history. It marks an epoch that had a greater significance for the civilization of the west than almost anything that occurred before or in the thousand years which followed it. Its imprints have never been effaced. The conquest of Gaul led to the conversion of what were called the barbarians and prepared the way for Augustine, the missionary of Gregory the Great.

Moreover, Caesar's expedition to Britain stamped upon its terrain reminders that have endured to this day. The great roads laid by the Romans, the sites of towns and of monuments even now proclaim to the Englishman the might of Imperial Rome.

One of the most charming works of all the writers of Rome is the Letters of Pliny. <sup>32</sup> In these we have placed before us not only the customs and manners of his day but also the characteristics of the famous personages who were his friends. Where is there to be found a more attractive description of a country residence and its surroundings than that he gives in the letter to Domitius Apollinaris in Book V? <sup>33</sup> The pictures he draws of his villa and the landscape are so ingratiating that one wonders why his correspondent did not pack up at once and take a holiday with Pliny.

One other writer I would recommend is Seneca.<sup>24</sup> He lived during the reign of Tiberius. For those who desire a knowledge of the state of Rome when Jesus of Nazareth appeared, Seneca will provide a clear description of it.

One of the most comprehensive volumes that gives an interpretative survey of Greece and Rome is *The Nemesis of Nations*, by W. Romaine Paterson. The reader will also find in it essays upon Hindustan and Babylon. This work is no short cut to culture. Indeed, I may venture to say that there are few scholars anywhere today

who are capable of devoting the necessary time to delving into the sources from which Paterson has drawn the materials for his historical studies.

We have neglected so long the history of the controversies which led to the forming of this Republic that it seems almost rash of one to suggest to the men of this busy age a return to the fundamental principles which guided the philosophical statesmen of America during the last half of the eighteenth century. What were these principles? They varied little because they were based upon natural law. It now seems like a dream when under the incubus of the State that has been formed we read the pamphlets and letters that were circulated here before the Revolution. But now there is an opportunity in the study of the Great Books to revive interest in the amazing scholarship that was revealed in controversy by many of the famous men who succeeded in throwing off the Hanoverian yoke. In this respect Cicero is a guiding light, and the following definition of natural law from his work, De Legibus, 86 bears sentence after sentence the expressions used by the Founding Fathers in defense of liberty:

Of all these things about which learned men dispute there is none more important than clearly to understand that we are born for justice, and that right is founded not in opinion but in nature. There is indeed a true law, right reason, agreeing with nature and diffused among all, unchanging, everlasting, which calls to duty by commanding, deters from wrong by forbidding. . . . It is not allowable to alter this law nor to deviate from it. Nor can it be abrogated. Nor can we be released from this law either by the senate or by the people. Nor is any person required to explain or interpret it. Nor is it one law at Rome and another at Athens, one law today and another hereafter; but the same law, everlasting and unchangeable, will bind all nations and all times; and there will be one common lord and ruler of all, even God, the framer and proposer of this law. 87

What a fascinating exercise for a student of the classes to follow this fundamental idea through the centuries down to Hooker and Locke and then to Thomas Paine and Jefferson! A well-known historian has said that no adequate history of natural law has been written. Surely the time is ripe for one and perhaps the classes may produce an author who will give us an essay on this subject.

I am almost afraid to start upon Virgil because my mind has been so full of his immortal work recently. Before the idea came to me of writing this paper, I had looked through some of the editions of the Aeneid, 38 and all the old feeling of delight that I experienced years ago came back tenfold, increased mightily perhaps because of the awful events of the last ten years.

Is there anything finer written on the first principles of industry than the second Georgic? A few weeks ago I saw an essay in an English paper on this part of Virgil's work which gave me a thrill of pleasure that is rare in these days. It brought back to my mind the truant time of my youth when I went wandering in the fields and knew the flowers and the birds, when I felt one with nature herself. Turn to it and read it, for you will feel that you are breathing the pure air of the countryside, and mayhap you will realize why in deserting our first mother we have fallen upon evil days.

There are two handbooks the student should have with him when he attends the sessions. They are invaluable as aids to a fuller knowledge of the characters that are named by the Greek and Roman authors and will be of great assistance in gaining an understanding of the geography of the ancient world. The first is Smith's Smaller Classical Dictionary, edited by E. H. Blakeney. The other is the Atlas of Ancient and Classical Geography, edited by Ernest Rhys. 11

These are handy volumes and can easily be carried to the meetings. The student of the Homeric epics who sets to work with the Dictionary and the Atlas at his side will find his interest heightened to a great extent in looking up the biographies of the characters and noting on the maps the places mentioned in the poems. It is something to know the location of Troy

and the parts of Greece from which the assailants of Priam ventured forth. The athlete to whom the term "Olympic Games" is merely a name will find in these two small works enlightening information which will increase his interest in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

When I was a boy a book that was found in many households was Bulfinch's Age of Fable, 42 one of the most fascinating works on mythology the amateur could then find. The edition I have now is that which was brought up to date by Dr. J. Loughran Scott and was published in 1898. The Age of Fable has been the means of prompting men and women in this country to read the classics. In the Author's Preface we find the following:

Our book is not for the learned, nor for the theologian, nor for the philosopher, but for the reader of English literature, of either sex, who wishes to comprehend the allusions so frequently made by public speakers, lecturers, essayists, and poets, and those which occur in polite conversation.<sup>43</sup>

In this there seems to me to be a rather sad reflection upon the matters that interest us today. I do not remember when, in polite conversation, any of my friends have dwelt for long upon the mythology of the past.

#### VI

#### THE DARK AGES

We now enter the portal of what has been called the Dark Ages. But before we take our lamp to search for the outstanding figures of this era, it is necessary to keep in mind what we have learned from the classical civilizations. The man who wishes to cultivate his mind must seek a wide background where the various growths of thought have taken root and flour-ished, and from which the seeds blown by winds from all quarters have fertilized the cultures of pastures upon which he has thriven.

One section of my library is devoted to the Early Fathers. These I find difficult to dissociate entirely from the Greeks. Indeed, to me the influence of Plato is one of the most striking features of early Christian thought. Origen and Clement of Alexandria<sup>44</sup> are unique in this respect. Here again it is impossible in a short essay to do justice to the period from the fall of Jerusalem to the conversion of Augustine. Two of the men whose influence has extended all through the Middle Ages and down to our time are Plotinus and the author of *The City of God.* Now that the *Enneads* have been given to us by

Stephen Mackenna in perfect English, there is no reason for any man of culture saying, as he did heretofore, that the translation is so bad that it is scarcely readable. It would be asking far too much to expect the student to read the whole of Mackenna's work. I have no hesitation, however, in recommending to him the beautiful volume of copious selections from the Enneads, entitled The Essence of Plotinus, that Grace H. Turnbull has compiled. 45

Here it is necessary to remind the reader that many works on mysticism have been published in recent years and the number of people interested in this subject seems to increase rapidly. In case this question is raised for discussion, the student who knows something of Plotinus will be able to give instruction to his associates, one of the most delightful advantages an informed individual can employ. I have found The Flowering of Mysticism, by Rufus Jones, 48 well worthy of a place in the library of a cultured man. It is a beautiful work.

The next towering figure is Augustine, Bishop of Hippo. His work, The City of God,<sup>47</sup> is one of the famous books in the world. This is so well known that it needs no recommendation from me to bring it to the notice of the reader.

I have not seen a list that includes The Consolation of Philosophy, by Boethius. 48 Why is this work neglected? Surely it is one that has stood the test of the ages and should not be ignored,

for it influenced the thought of many centuries. Gibbon said that it was "a golden volume, not unworthy of the leisure of Plato or of Tully."

Dr. W. P. Ker says: "Boethius has been traced in English literature from Beowulf to Hamlet and Lycidas." One of the most extraordinary things about *The Consolation* is that some of our modern mentors have considered it too profound for the students of our time. But according to a Florentine notary of the end of the fourteenth century, it was regarded as a work of "highest philosophy," though "today simple people hold it cheap, because it is a common book for the youngest pupils in our schools." <sup>81</sup>

I find The Consolation of Philosophy so "full of quotations," as the old lady said of Hamlet, that I start with joy when his lines appear in the sentences of some of the old masters. I have wondered if Campanella, when he wrote the sonnet which begins, "The people is a beast of muddy brain," 52 was thinking of the verse by Boethius, which commences:

Why do fierce tyrants us affright, Whose rage is far beyond their might?58

This is just one of many instances I might deal with that indicates how readers differ in their tastes. Blessed is the man who seeks his own way through the vast labyrinth of our literature and forms his taste upon that which satisfies his own soul! I hope I may, with becoming modesty, recommend my own essays, The Roots of our Learning, 54 for sketches of those who through the Dark Ages carried the lamp of knowledge when its flame was almost quenched. But what I consider to be the essential work that illumines those gloomy years through which the European peoples groped from the fall of Rome until Alfred in England and Charlemagne on the continent is W. P. Ker's Dark Ages. 55 How this amazing story of the struggles of the knights bannerets of literature has been overlooked I cannot understand. It is an essential volume, and I have not known a man or woman who, having begun to read it, found a dull page in it.

For many years the Irish philosopher, Erigena, was merely a name to English students. His monumental work, The Division of Nature, seemed to be studied only by rare scholars. So far as I know, only the first part has been translated. But now we have Henry Bett's book, Johannes Scotus Erigena, 58 which presents to us one of the most profound philosophers who flourished before the tenth century. The questions he raised are still being discussed, and his influence in scholastic circles is as great today as it ever was.

## VII

## THE MEDIEVAL PERIOD

The renaissance of learning which took place ar Aix under Charlemagne and in England, under Alfred, is dealt with in many works easily procurable. For the latter I would recommend R. H. Hodgkin's A History of the Anglo-Saxons. <sup>57</sup> This marks the true beginning of the period in English culture which survived through centuries of political change and decay.

We must now pass on to other aids that will be found useful. The purists of a few years ago aimed their critical arrows at John Richard Green's A Short History of the English People, 58 because they found some small defects in his work. But when, later, other purists had to place an esrimate on it, it was found in the main to be as serviceable a medium of conveying historical information as any English history that existed. The hisrorian never yet lived who was accepted as a perfect specimen of the cult, and I suppose that such a being will never exist. Why Green should be singled out for shortcomings and others who made greater errors escape is difficult to explain, but where (I should like to know) is to be found a more comprehensive study of all that goes to make the history of a people than that which Green wrote? Its real value to the student is its breadth and depth, and the illuminating pages devoted to the growth of English literature are precious. There is scarcely a channel of economic, political, social, or cultural activity that is not dealt with by Green.

No greater tribute could be paid than that which Stubbs himself inscribed:

... All his work was real and original work; few people besides those who knew him well would see under the charming ease and vivacity of his style the deep research and sustained industry of the laborious student. But it was so; there was no department of our national records that he had not studied and, I think I may say, mastered. . . . Like other people he made mistakes sometimes; but scarcely ever does the correction of his mistakes affect either the essence of the picture or the force of the argument. 50

Lately we have heard much of Magna Carta, and I am informed that many people saw the copy sent to this country. I possess a rare book entitled An Historical Essay on the Magna Carta of King John, by Richard Thomson, published in 1829. 60 It is one of the most beautiful tomes in my library. This I found in a secondhand bookshop.

There are many who deserve recognition during the Angevin period, such as Stephen Langton and Roger Bacon, but space shortens with every word and I have yet to deal with other aids that I hope will help the student. Chaucer's Canterbury Tales 61 should not be passed over, for the work marks an epoch in English literature. Read the Skeat edition so that you may know the form and structure of your language as it was written in the fourteenth century.

For more than three centuries Machiavelli's book, *The Prince*, <sup>62</sup> was regarded by many as the work of Satan. Macaulay, in his essays, says, ''Out of his surname they have coined an epithet for a knave, and out of his Christian name a synonyme for the Devil.''<sup>63</sup>

I knew no better than to fall in with the views of my elders until I read Lord Acton's "Introduction to L. A. Burd's Edition of The Prince." <sup>64</sup> This interested me so deeply that I went to a friend and asked him to translate the passages in the article that were in the Italian language. It was a shock to me to learn that there was something to be said for Machiavelli, and I was driven back to The Prince and read it again carefully. I then found that the most important guiding passage must have been overlooked or ignored by the former critics. It runs as follows:

... And as I know that many have written on this point, I expect I shall be considered presumptuous in mentioning it again, especially as in discussing it I shall depart from the methods of other people. But, it being my intention to write a thing which shall be useful to him who apprehends it, it appears to me more appropriate to follow up the real truth of a matter than the imagination of it; for many have pictured republics and principalities which in fact have never been known or seen, because how one lives is so far distant from how one ought to live, that he who neglects what is done for what ought to be done, sooner effects his ruin than his preservation; for a man who wishes to act entirely up to his professions of virtue soon meets with what destroys him among so much that is evil.

Hence it is necessary for a prince wishing to hold his own to know how to do wrong, and to make use of it or not according to necessity....<sup>65</sup>

It is unnecessary to apologize for quoting at such length in a short essay because it might prove to be the means of directing the thought of the student to the true attitude of mind of the author. He was not dealing with what ought to be, but what a prince should do to maintain his power.

There is an excellent work which deals at some length with Machiavelli, and it is called The Myth of the State. This was written by Ernest Cassirer, 66 one of the best minds driven to our shores by the last European conflict and upheaval. Dr. Cassirer's work is so unusual in its comprehensive survey of the science of politics that it might well be studied for its sake alone,

entirely apart from the matter of the assistance it offers to the student of the Great Books.

When the Tudors came to the throne there began that amazing activity in the arts which lasted for nearly three hundred years. Erasmus gave us the *Praise of Folly;* <sup>87</sup> More presented us with his *Utopia;* <sup>68</sup> and Tyndale produced a translation of the New Testament. For this period I would recommend *A Portrait of Thomas More*, by Algernon Cecil. <sup>69</sup> It is really a survey of the reign of Henry VIII and marks definitely the grave crisis in religious affairs which led to the parting of the ways in the history of the Church.

Then for twenty-five years there burst upon London the genius of Shakespeare, Marlowe, Spenser, and Jonson. During this period Hooker gave us Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, 70 and Bacon published his Essays. 71 The shower of these literary meteors fell upon a people thirsting for genius, and there has scarcely been a decade since when some writer has not paid glowing tributes to the brilliant company that gave us so many masterpieces.

Forty years later came Milton, 72 and in 1651 Hobbes published Leviathan. 73 About the same time, Bunyan wrote his Pilgrim's Progress. 74 It was not, however, until 1687 that the Principia of Newton 75 appeared.

The works mentioned in the brief summary above may be easily obtained. Perhaps this is the place where I should ask my reader if he has ever known the joy of book hunting in secondhand shops. It is one of the most delightful avocations for him who has planned a library he will collect for himself. This is a pursuit for rich and poor. When I think of what John Burns did in collecting his editions of Thomas More, I wonder that men do not indulge this interesting adventure to a greater extent. Somehow one takes far deeper pleasure in a book discovered upon the shelves of a secondhand shop than in the bright new edition costing four or five times the price. Why should not the student form a collection of his own around the basic library of Dr. Hutchins?

## VIII

# THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Once we enter upon the period which has been called the Industrial Revolution, the work for the man of culture increases mightily. When Jonathan Swift appeared upon the scene, he started an almost continuous line of brilliant writers of nearly every description, which lasted until the middle of the nineteenth century. The letters of Junius appeared about 1769, and Adam Smith produced The Theory of Moral Sentiments 18 and, in 1776, his wonderful work, The Wealth of Nations. 17

The English essayists and satirists of this period may be taken at leisure. Sir Richard Steele, Joseph Addison, 78 and many others gave us the finest examples of English prose. Sixty years later came William Hazlitt. 79 Indeed, it may be said that under the aegis of these men and their contemporaries it reached perfection.

### IX

# OTHER ESSENTIAL WORKS

THERE remain what I consider to be many essential aids that a cultured man should read. It is as necessary for him to know these as it is for him to be familiar with the classics. Here I shall mention briefly those that have been of great use to me.

The historical volumes of Lord Acton 80 are once again under the notice of learned men, for the postwar condition of Europe has forced them to review the past and learn anew from it why its cultural structure has been destroyed. Acton's interpretive works, and particularly The History of Freedom and Other Essays, are contributions of wisdom from the mind of Europe's greatest scholar. The historical essays are vital and direct our thought to the fundamentals upon which liberty took root and blossomed forth in the Gothic splendors of the Middle Ages. The "Inaugural Lecture of the Study of History"81 is essential reading for all serious students of the achievements of the past that is no more.

The historical works of Edward Freeman<sup>82</sup> are in demand once again, Perhaps Dr. A. J.

Toynbee's references to him in A Study of History<sup>83</sup> are reviving an interest in Freeman's books which has been dormant for over a generation. Search the shelves of the secondhand bookshops for the volumes of these masters, for only in them can be found a review of Europe's growth from the days of the glories of Greece and Rome down to the time of Washington and Jefferson.

Other works that I keep near me as reference aids range from Ernest Renan to Henry George. Renan's Averroès et l'Averroisme<sup>84</sup> is necessary for a proper understanding of the philosophical and theological controversies of the twelfth century and afterwards.

Seven Centuries of the Problem of Church and State, by Frank Gavin, 85 gives us the history of the ordeals which afflicted many deeply religious minds. A cultured man should know this problem, for it looms large on the horizon of Europe's future.

We have been so busy with things of the flesh and the perfecting of the gadgets of science that we have forgotten the most interesting periods in our history were those when the concerns of the spirit were held of the greatest moment. I would recommend as a cultural bulwark against the agnostic materialism of our time Etienne Gilson's The Spirit of Mediaval Philosophy. 86

It would be folly to overlook the importance of the work of Sir Henry Maine, and I would suggest Ancient Law<sup>87</sup> and Village-Communities in

the East and West<sup>88</sup> for the consideration of the student. In these two works will be found conceptions of natural law that will assist the readers of Spengler and Toynbee to understand the growth of cultures and the decay of civilizations.<sup>80</sup>

A new edition of Frederick A. Lange's *The History of Materialism*<sup>90</sup> has been published. This work is a necessary aid because it is a compendium of information on the development of philosophy and of scientific change.

Immanuel Kant cannot be omitted from the catalogue of the cultured reader. Dr. Thomas K. Abbott's book. Kant's Critique of Practical Reason and Other Works on the Theory of Ethics, 91 is undoubtedly the first step to be taken in the approach to the genius of Königsberg. This volume has one of the most interesting memoirs of Kant that I have seen anywhere. If it is possible to find The Philosophy of Law, by Kant, 92 read it studiously because there is so much confusion today in the minds of men as to what right is. While we touch upon natural law and the theory of right I may mention some useful aids that have taken my interest: American Interpretations of Natural Law, by B. F. Wright93 and A History of Political Theories, by W. A. Dunning. 44 A well-informed man cannot dispense with works of their importance.

Blaise Pascal was a great scientist, and it is sometimes forgotten that he created a sensation in religious circles by publishing The Provincial Letters. 95 As models of style they were welcomed by cultured opponents of the subject they dealt with because they marked a startling advance in the art of writing.

We should not forget The Divine Comedy, by Dante, 96 nor Faust, by Goethe. 97 I cannot imagine a man so illiterate as to ignore these two works. Even he who reads light literature must occasionally meet quotations from these poems.

Only the other day I saw a striking reference to Emperor and Galilean, by Henrik Ibsen. 8 And now that the period of Julian has been revived for historical research, it may be well for Ibsen's work to be studied again.

Not so long ago one of our modern philosophers spoke contemptuously of Schopenhauer. It was an indication of how far astray our mentors have led us. Oddly enough several works appeared about the same time, which revealed a deep appreciation of *The World as Will and Idea*. 99 Now I find many references to Schopenhauer's knowledge of the philosophy of the East and, as more works are put out upon oriental religions, it is becoming necessary to follow this trend closely because it may become the subject of general debate.

There are three volumes which must find a place in the library of a student of religious and scientific development of thought. Those which have impressed me deeply in recent years are: The Two Sources of Morality and Religion, by Henri Bergson; 100 and God, by John E. Boodin, 101 our greatest philosopher. In this volume Boodin examines the latest pronouncements of scientists as they relate to God's creation and its glorious harmony. There is also a work of outstanding significance called The Soul of the Universe, by Gustaf Strömberg. 102

Let me conclude this list by offering to the students of the Great Books works of wide survey of civilizations and epochs, which have received the attention of our reviewers to such an extent that it is scarcely possible to read a critical monthly without being confronted with their titles. These are: The Decline of the West, by Oswald Spengler; 103 A Study of History, by A. J. Toynbee; 104 and A Cultural History of the Modern Age, by Egon Friedell. 105 The comprehensiveness of these works astonishes the reader, but I would not be without them for anything. They are mines of essential information, and no matter how they may differ from one another in their conceptions of the growths of civilizations and also their decay, they provide the knowledge that the cultured man of two generations ago would have despaired of ever finding.

Finally I come to *Progress and Poverty*, by Henry George, <sup>108</sup> the work that sent me in quest of knowledge. Its influence forced me to

search the secondhand bookshops. It provided me with economic fundamentals that have guided my actions for more than fifty years. As Butler's Analogy of Religion107 was to the men of his time-unanswerable-so is Progress and Poverty to every serious thinker. I would say that if it is not academic prejudice, it must be unpardonable ignorance which omits George's volume from the list of Great Books. It would indeed be hard to find another work of this century which has been so highly praised by such well-known thinkers as Lord Acton. Leo Tolstoy, George Bernard Shaw, Albert Einstein, Mark Twain, Viscount Snowden, Sun Yat-sen, and Franz Oppenheimer. These names from a long list are chosen for the purpose of reminding the student that the fame of George is world wide.

In this essay I have given the titles of only a few of the works that keep me young at eighty. I find that by taking care of the nourishment of the spirit, the body looks after itself.

Now to present my reasons for not giving due consideration to the works of science, to fiction, and to poetry. As for the first, the changes that have taken place since the coming of Einstein have been so many and so extraordinary that we scarcely know today whether the scientist is a physicist or a metaphysician. Undoubtedly the philosophical trends are of the greatest interest, but as they are now somewhat over-

shadowed by the information about the making of the atomic bomb, the amateur would have difficulty in keeping his mind clear of the destructive tendencies which are manifold in the latest scientific discoveries. Still, I might mention one work that may be easily read by members of the classes, which is of tremendous significance. It is by a great scientist, a Nobel Prize winner, Erwin Schrödinger, and it is called What is Life? This short, compact volume of his Dublin Lectures can be read at a sitting, and from it an intelligent student can gather a wholly new conception of his relation to the cosmos.

The second classification—fiction since Samuel Richardson's Clarissa and Henry Fielding's Tom Iones—is dealt with exhaustively in many works by critics of great repute, and not a few of these are textbooks used by the instructors of English literature in the colleges and universities. Moreover, the taste of the individual reader of fiction is something so changeable that it is difficult to know what to recommend. And so few, according to my experience, care to read the fine novels of the two hundred years that ended with the last of the Victorians and the great American novelists that I feel loath to plunge in against the stream that runs so strongly now against the taste cultivated when I was a boy. The charge that is brought against me of being somewhat old fashioned, out of date, is true, I think; but I do not blush. What interests me in fiction is the power of the author to create a character that lives, and for the student who would turn his mind to the writing of novels or plays, there is no better exercise than to read and study closely how the artists of the past produced the drama of their works through and by the clash of character, which they created.

Poetry is entirely another matter. It is not to be expected that those born and raised in urban communities can appreciate the contemplative works of our great poets. Somehow we have lost the smell of the soil, the scent of the woods in spring and autumn, the affinities that draw us to the heart of nature. Nor do I think that with the didactic poets we are in the mind for close communion with them. These days of steel and concrete seem to enclose us in intellectual ghettoes. To appreciate the poetry since Milton, one needs the uninterrupted vision taken from a hilltop. There may be something wrong with my estimate of the aesthetic caliber of the people about me, but I cannot imagine how Henry Vaughan or William Wordsworthto mention only two of many soul-searching poets—can impress the mind of the town-bred man if he has not seen what they picture. If he has not felt the forces that have inspired them, how can it be possible to be touched by their verse?

How strange it is that this change in taste in fiction and in poetry has taken place within a generation! It seems not so long since I lectured to working men's gatherings on Shakespeare, Milton, Wordsworth, Byron, Browning, and Tennyson. Only a little more than forty years ago I found audiences in the towns of England who would fill the halls and sit with their volumes of the poems that were the subjects of my discourse. What a change! Still, I hope fervently for a revival of interest in fine verse, and there is no doubt in my mind that the study courses of the Great Books may inspire the young people of today to return to the poets who enriched the spiritual hours of so many of those who had to labor for their livelihood.

## X

## THE APPLICATION OF KNOWLEDGE

Nothing I have set down here conflicts in any way with the plan of Dr. Hutchins. My intention is to assist in his good work. It will do no harm to associate my kindergarten of cultural pursuits with his school of higher learning. Let my suggestions be merely a preparatory course that will stimulate a desire to leap the hurdles that lie in the way of his goal.

Matthew Arnold himself would have agreed, I daresay, that to know the best that has been thought and said in the world is not in itself sufficient to make a cultured man. I cannot imagine that Chancellor Hutchins thinks the reading of the seventy-two books will accomplish this aim. There is something more required in this mission, and that is knowing how to apply the knowledge of literary masterpieces to the conditions of the present time. The cultured man is he who understands the tradition of thought and how it has permeated the schools of western civilization. It is in this respect that I consider The Legacy of Greece 108 an indispensable primer for those who will take the courses in the classics.

It is not to be supposed that at first the students will be brimful of inclination, for there has been scarcely any background in our system of education that would stimulate the proper desire. In the tests that I have made. I have found the greatest hindrance to progress has been the absurd notion fortered by our instructors that only what they call the "practical" affairs of existence are worth consideration. The absurdity of this has been exposed recently by scientists, architects, and engineers. In England the president of the Institute of Electrical Engineers has made a demand for a wider cultural background. In a letter to The Times (London) he quotes from a report from the American Engineers' Council for Professional Development which says that "both the young graduate engineer and the young man entering the profession through its regular work are anxious and willing to obtain that background of non-technical culture which is so necessary to the true professional engineer."110

I could cite many other men who seem to be in revolt against the so-called "practical" trends our schools have encouraged for over a generation. A great change of thought has taken place, and the position for this cultural movement improves steadily every year. Indeed, it is the one hope that we may cherish in all this turmoil—that a generation of men will come who will renew the spiritual tradition

that was broken when pupils were taught that the chief thing in life was to learn how to make a living. That system bequeathed to us years of pain and sorrow and a complexity of economic, political, and social problems that so far defy all the solutions made by our practical men.

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# A LIST OF RECOMMENDED BOOKS FOR INTRODUCTORY READING

N.B. This list is compiled for the purpose of giving the student a chance to select a work that will be of immediate aid to him in studying the book for the next session.

# The Bible and Ancient Civilizations:

- 1. The Bible: Old Testament and New Testament
- 2. T. H. Robinson: The Decline and Fall of the Hebrew Kingdoms
- 3. John Garstang: The Foundations of Bible History
- 4. W. J. Phythian-Adams: The Call of Israel
- 5. Sidney Smith: Isaiah Chapters XL-LV
- 6. Sir Frederic Kenyon: The Bible and Archaelogy
- 7. F. Max Muller: The Veddnta Philosophy
- 8. Confucius: Analects
- 9. J. H. Breasted: The Conquest of Civilization
- 10. Arthur Weigall: A History of the Pharaohs

### Grasca:

- 11. The Lagacy of Greece, edited by R. W. Livingstone
- 12. Walter Pater: Plato and Platonism
- 13. John Burnet: Early Greek Philosophy
- 14. Nietzsche: Early Greek Philosophy
- 15. Nietzsche: The Birth of Tragedy
- 16. Homer: Iliad
- 17. Homer: Odyssey
- 18. Plato: Ropublic
- 19. Aeschylus: Tragedies
- Sophocles: Tragedies
   Aristophanes: Satirical Comedies
- 22. Thucydides: The History of the Peloponnesian War

- 23. John H. Finley: Thucydides
- 24. Polybius: The Histories
- 25. Aristotle: The Nicomachean Ethics
- 26. Aristotle: Politics

### Roma:

- 27. Gibbon: Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire
- 28. Livy: The History of Rome
- 29. Caesar: The Gallic War and Other Commetaries
- 30. Pliny: Letters
- 31. Seneca: Letters
- 32. W. Romaine Paterson: The Nemesis of Nations
- 33. Cicero: De Legibus
- 34. Virgil: Aeneid and Georgics

## Classical reference works:

- 35. Smith's Smaller Classical Dictionary
- 36. Atlas of Ancient and Classical Geography
- 37. Thomas Bulfinch: The Age of Fable

## Dark Ages:

- 38. Grace H. Turnbull: The Essence of Plotinus
- 39. Rufus Jones: The Flowering of Mysticism
- 40. Augustine: The City of God
- 41. Boethius: The Consolation of Philosophy
- 42. Francis Neilson: The Roots of our Learning
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- 44. Henry Bett: Johannes Scotus Erigena
- 45. R. H. Hodgkin: A History of the Anglo-Saxons

### Renaissance

- 46. J. R. Green: A Short History of the English People
- 47. Richard Thomson: An Historical Essay on the Magna Carta of King John
- 48. Chaucer: Canterbury Tales
- 49. Machiavelli: The Prince
- 50. Ernest Cassirer: The Myth of the State
- 51. Erasmus: Praise of Folly

- 52. Thomas More: Utopia
- 53. Algernon Cecil: A Portrait of Thomas More
- 54. Hooker: Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity
- 55. Bacon: Essays
- 56. Milton: Poetical Works
- 57. Hobbes: Leviathan
- 58. Bunyan: Pilgrim's Progress
- 59. Newton: Principia
- 60. Joseph Butler: Analogy of Religion

# General background works:

- 61. Junius: Letters
- 62. Adam Smith: The Theory of Moral Sentiments
- 63. Adam Smith: The Wealth of Nations
- 64. Jonathan Swift: Gulliver's Travels
- 65. Sir Richard Steele: Essays
- 66. Joseph Addison: Essays
- 67. William Hazlitt: Essays
- 68. Lord Acton: Historical Essays and Studies
- 69. Lord Acton: The History of Freedom and Other Essays
- 70. Lord Acton: Lectures on Modern History
- Edward Freeman: Historical Essays, First, Second, Third, Fourth Series
- 72. Edward Freeman: The Chief Periods of European History
- 73. Ernest Renan: Averrois et l'Averroisme
- 74. Frank Gavin: Seven Centuries of the Problem of Church and State
- 75. Etienne Gilson: The Spirit of Mediaval Philosophy
- 76. Sir Henry Maine: Ancient Law
- 77. Sir Henry Maine: Village-Communities in the East and West
- 78. Frederick A. Lange: The History of Materialism
- Kant's Critique of Practical Reason and Other Works on the Theory of Ethics, trans. by Thomas K. Abbott
- 80. Kant: The Philosophy of Law
- 81. B. F. Wright: American Interpretations of Natural Law
- 82. W. A. Dunning: A History of Political Theories
- 83. Blaise Pascal: Pensies and The Provincial Letters

- 84. Dante. The Divine Camedy
- 85. Goethe: Faust
- 86. Ibsen: Emperor and Galilean
- 87. Schopenhauer: The World as Will and Idea
- 88. Henri Bergson . The Two Sources of Morality and Religion
- 89. John E. Boodin. God
- 90. Gustaf Stromberg. The Soul of the Universe
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